

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 137331  
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-12 IO-14 ACDA-12 ISO-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00  
CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SS-15  
SP-02 TRSE-00 SIG-03 MMO-04 AGRE-00 COME-00 EB-08  
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DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM: PBSWIERS

APPROVED BY EUR/RPM: WSHINN, JR.

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O 311641Z MAY 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE IMMEDIATE

USDEL MC IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSAACLANT

UNCLAS STATE 137331

USSALTTWO FOR SALT TWO GENEVA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: NATO, PORG

SUBJECT: ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY -- PUBLIC STATEMENT

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PAGE 02 STATE 137331

REF: USNATO 5435 (NOTAL), DTG 261715Z MAY 78

1. THIS MESSAGE FORWARDS FOR YOUR USE, AS REQUIRED,  
THE TEXT OF A PRESS INFORMATION PAPER, ON WHICH NATO'S  
SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE (SPC) AGREED MAY 30  
AS THE INSTRUMENT THROUGH WHICH ALLIES COULD INFORM  
THE PUBLIC OF THE RESULTS OF THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY.

THE NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF RELEASED THIS DOCUMENT  
AT 1230 WASHINGTON TIME MAY 31. THE STUDY ITSELF  
WILL BE APPROVED MAY 31; IT WILL REMAIN CLASSIFIED (NATO  
SECRET)

2. BEGIN TEXT:

1. AT THE MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL WITH  
THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN  
LONDON IN MAY LAST YEAR, ALLIED LEADERS REQUESTED THE  
COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION TO MAKE A FRESH STUDY OF  
LONG-TERM TRENDS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO ASSESS  
THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE. ALL THE ALLIES  
HAVE ACTIVELY CONTRIBUTED TO THE STUDY THROUGH INTENSIVE

CONSULTATIONS. IT WAS SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL TO THE  
MEETING OF THE COUNCIL WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS  
OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON ON 30TH AND 31ST  
MAY, 1978. THE STUDY IS INTENDED FOR INTERNAL USE  
BY ALLIED GOVERNMENTS.

2. THE ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS TAKES  
AS ITS TIMEFRAME THE PERIOD THROUGH THE NINETEEN-  
EIGHTIES. IT ANALYSES THE TRENDS IN SOVIET AND EAST  
EUROPEAN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES, AND ASSESSES  
POSSIBLE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES IN THE  
FIELD OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE STUDY CONCLUDES  
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BY CONSIDERING THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE.  
THE KEY ROLE WHICH BERLIN AND THE SPECIAL SITUATION  
IN GERMANY PLAY FOR DETENTE IN EUROPE IS COVERED BY  
THE STUDY.

3. WHILE RECOGNISING THAT UNCERTAINTIES MAKE FIRM  
PREDICTIONS DIFFICULT, THE STUDY CONCLUDES THAT,  
IN GENERAL, THE FOREIGN AND OTHER POLICIES OF  
THE SOVIET UNION, INCLUDING ITS CONCEPT OF DETENTE,  
ARE NOT LIKELY TO UNDERGO ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE  
IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. IDEOLOGY WILL CONTINUE  
TO BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN SOVIET POLICY-MAKING.  
THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES WILL REMAIN INTERESTED  
IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF CONTACTS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES

IN CERTAIN SPHERES, IN PARTICULAR, IN THE INTENSI-  
FICATION OF ECONOMIC INTER-ACTION WITH THE WEST.

THE SOVIET UNION CAN ALSO BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO  
ATTACH HIGH PRIORITY TO THE STEADY ENHANCEMENT OF ITS  
MILITARY STRENGTH ACROSS THE ENTIRE RANGE OF

CAPABILITIES, AND TO REMAIN READY TO DEVOTE TO IT WHATEVER RESOURCES IT CONSIDERS ITS OVERALL POLICIES REQUIRE. THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION HAS SO FAR BEEN CHARACTERISED BY EFFORTS TO CHANGE THE "CORRELATION OF FORCES" IN ITS FAVOUR; THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THIS POLICY IS LIKELY TO BE MODIFIED SIGNIFICANTLY.

4. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE STUDY CONFIRMS THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF THE TWO COMPLEMENTARY FUNCTIONS OF THE ALLIANCE, IDENTIFIED IN THE HARMEL REPORT OF 1967: MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY SECURITY AND THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE. THE STUDY INDICATES THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO ENSURE AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF DETERRENCE AND

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DEFENCE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE STEADY MILITARY BUILD-UP BY THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES AND THE LACK OF ADEQUATE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS. THE MAINTENANCE BY THE ALLIES OF A SATISFACTORY MILITARY BALANCE, BASED ON A CONTINUUM OF STRATEGIC, THEATRE NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES, IS ESSENTIAL NOT ONLY TO PRESERVE SECURITY AND TO DISCOURAGE ANY TEMPTATION FOR OTHERS TO TRANSLATE THEIR MILITARY STRENGTH INTO EXPANSION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE, BUT ALSO TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF DETENTE BY THE ALLIES.

5. THE STUDY RECOGNISES THAT PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT IS CONSIDERED INDISPENSABLE FOR A DURABLE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE MAINTENANCE OF UNDIMINISHED AND IF POSSIBLE IMPROVED SECURITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES MUST BE A CONSTANT AIM. IN THIS CONTEXT THE STUDY ALSO EMPHASISES THAT POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES/SOVIET STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, COMPATIBLE WITH THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES, WOULD HAVE A FAVOURABLE EFFECT ON DETENTE.

6. AT THE SAME TIME, THE STUDY CONFIRMS THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD MAINTAIN THEIR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST IN ALL FIELDS. THE HELSINKI FINAL

ACT CONTINUES TO PROVIDE A VALUABLE MEANS OF MONITORING AND ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IN DETENTE IN ALL ITS ASPECTS.

THE STUDY POINTS OUT THAT THE GROWTH OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC

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LINKS WITH THE WEST CAN, WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS, ACT AS AN INCENTIVE FOR THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES TO ADOPT A MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE OUTSIDE WORLD. ALLIED COUNTRIES SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES TO PLAY A FORTHCOMING ROLE IN HELPING TO MEET THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

THE STUDY UNDERLINES THAT MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT, AS STATED IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION.

7. THE STUDY STATES THAT EACH ALLY WILL PLAY ITS FULL PART IN WORKING FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, WITH THE DIVERSITY AND FREEDOM OF ACTION AND DECISION WHICH HAVE ALWAYS CHARACTERISED THEIR APPROACH. IN THIS REGARD, IT CONCLUDES THAT THE ALLIANCE REMAINS THE MOST EFFECTIVE FORUM FOR ALLIED CONSULTATIONS ON THOSE MATTERS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS WHICH THE 1974 OTTAWA DECLARATION DEFINES AS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE.

THE STUDY REAFFIRMS THAT THE ALLIANCE CONSTITUTES A FIRM GUARANTEE OF THE SECURITY AND FREEDOM OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES AND OF PEACE, AND EMPHASISES THEREFORE THE NEED TO MAINTAIN AND REINFORCE THEIR SOLIDARITY AND COHESION.

END TEXT.

3. PART III OF THE STUDY IS BEING REPEATED TO THOSE ADDRESSEES WHICH HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED IT (USNATO 4934 AS AMENDED BY USNATO 4962, 5083, AND 5158). - -

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 0000

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 137331 SENT ACTION ALL NATO CAPITALS  
INFO MOSCOW MADRID ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POST PEKING TOKYO  
USUN NEW YORK GENEVA USDEL MBFR VIENNA USNMR SAHPE USDEL MC  
USCINCEUR USDOCOSOUTH USLOSACLANT MAY 31.

QUOTE UNCLAS STATE 137331

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PUBLIC DISCLOSURE, ALLIANCE, STUDIES  
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**Draft Date:** 31 may 1978  
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**TAGS:** PORG, MARR, XT, US, XH, NATO  
**To:** NATO POSTS  
**Type:** TE  
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